

A

QUESTION

TO BE CONSIDERED,

Previous to the Rejection of the BILL
for paying off the National Debt, upon
Account of inserting to the Preamble,
His MAJESTY's previous Consent.

Humbly address'd to all His MAJESTY's
faithful Subjects of IRELAND. *Parliament*

— Fuit hæc Sapientia quondam
Publica privatis Secernere, Sacra profanis.
Alter rixatur de Lana ræpe Caprina.



D U B L I N :

Printed in the YEAR MDCCCLIV.



A

QUESTION, &c.

THE Writers, in Favour of the Constitutional Right of the Crown in this famous Dispute, have, in my Opinion, mistaken a fugitive Shadow for a substantial Reason, which they gravely undertake to demolish; and make much such a Figure as the renowned Knight of *Mancha* addressing himself in Form to encounter a Windmill.

The Champion for the Opponents, like Dr. *Anthony* of famous Memory, solemnly harangues the gaping Mobb, his known Admirers, expatiates upon the Advantages of his Wonder-working Pills; has the same Vociferation and Gesticulation on Paper that he exerts upon the Stage, and labours to impose upon his Readers with the same Grimace that deluded his ignorant Hearers.

The Title of his Pamphlet was calculated to impose upon ignorant Readers; he entitles it, *The Proceedings, &c. in rejecting the altered Money-Bill, &c.* He knew that to alter a Money Bill gave Offence, and therefore calls this—the altered Money Bill, altho' he very well knew that this Bill could not properly be called a Money-Bill, as no Money was granted in it, and the just Cause of Offence arises from an Alteration in the Quantities granted, because of the People's Right to tax themselves. He knew likewise, that there was not a Word altered in the material, enacting Part of the Bill; the Dispute arose entirely from inserting the King's Recommendation and previous Consent

in the Preamble of the Bill, and not from any the least material Alteration in the Bill, this he could not be ignorant of, and therefore I think myself fully justified in saying the Title was calculated to impose.

His Motto too has the same Stamp, it's an Assemblage of many high-sounding Words, without any precise, determinate Meaning; they seem to glance upon the Word Administration, and that was sufficient to answer his Purpose.

He produces one Argument which he seriously thinks decisive; 'tis the unanswerable Argument of Majority, this may frighten but it does not convince: *Gulliver* has contrived the only Method for determining Disputes in that Way, and if the Operation he directs could be performed with Exactness, it would infallibly do the Business.

If the Vindication meant candidly and impartially to determine the Question in Dispute upon the Merits, he should have shewn that by inserting the Words in Dispute, some new Right, not claimed before, would arise thereby to the Crown, which in the ordinary Exercise of it might be injurious to the Subject; to argue from the possible Abuse against the Use is not fair, as he could not say that with the least Colour of Truth, it was then incumbent upon him to shew some actual Abuse, or Attempt of it at least, which arose from acknowledging the known Right of the Crown to apply Money granted for publick Service in general, to the particular Occasion in Question; but neither has he attempted to do that, and that in my Opinion is the only Question of any Moment.

It ought previously to be considered, What new Power can arise to the Crown, what Mischief can follow? by inserting in the Preamble of any Bill, that his Majesty has recommended and consented to a Bill, the Matter and Purport of which all Parties, both Legislature and People, agree to be just and desirable.

There is one Consequence will follow from it, the King and his Ministers will thereby have their Share in the Popularity which attends just and equitable Measures; and 'tis but fit and right they should: An Attempt

tempt to prevent or divert that Consequence, is unjustifiable. As far as I have looked into Parliamentary Proceedings, both in *England and Ireland*, whenever the King has recommended to his Parliament to frame a Law, the Matter whereof was just and desirable; if the Parliament met in a good Disposition, free and calm from Party Spleen, they regularly made some Acknowledgements of his Royal Grace, and of his Attention to the Welfare of his People; with us in those Cases, the Preamble of the Bill was usually an Echo of the Lord Lieutenant's Speech.

How comes all this Difficulty and Combustion to be raised about it in the present Case; is the great Point to be settled: Surely it cannot be that the Commons were alarmed at a Recommendation from the Crown to pay Debt, as an Attempt upon their Privilege of not being obliged to pay them 'till they please; some very sensible People have thought, on the Occasion, that it was a kind of an Affront, to put Gentlemen in Mind of paying their Debts; but I apprehend that could not possibly give so very great Offence, because it is a Privilege that was never contended, and has been so regularly exerted, that it can never be called in Question. I shall endeavour to account for it otherwise, with all possible Care and Perspicuity.

The Right of the Commons to reject any Bill brought into their House, without offering a Reason for so doing, is out of Question, it cannot be controverted, and that they might have done so with this Bill cannot admit of a Doubt. The Reader must carry this in his Mind throughout, or the true State of the Question will slip from him; for 'tis a slippery Question and has been vindicated by a *Proteus*, who can transform himself with Ease into a Thousand different Characters and Shapes. The Question then is not about the Right; 'tis only, whether there was sufficient Reason, upon Account of the Compliment to the King in the Preamble, for rejecting a Bill; the Substance of which is allowed to be just and desirable, and the Rejection of it allowed to be attended with Loss to

a great Number of honest, innocent People; who had lent their Money to the Publick, and must undoubtedly be kept out of their Principal and Interest for two Years, unless his Majesty out of his wonted Justice and Equity, shall think fit to relieve them. And likewise with Loss to the Publick, as the Money must lye dead, to the Publick at least, for that Time, and the Interest must hereafter be made good to the innocent Creditors. 'Tis to vindicate the glorious Majority (who doubtless have all dutiful Regard for the just Rights of the Crown, and true Zeal for the Publick Interest) from the Imputation of having opposed his Majesty's just Right and the Interest of the Nation, that all this Altercation has been raised. For grant the rejecting the Bill to be a mere Exertion of Power, then the Dispute is at an End, and at the same Time there is an End of their Popularity and Patriotism; which is a disagreeable Alternative. Likewise Arguments drawn from Precedents of Proceedings in arguing on bad Times are not to be admitted in this Debate, where, 'tis presumed, there was no previous Opposition formed to the Measures of Government, Right or Wrong, no previous ensuring or engaging of Voices, but all spoke their free Sentiments upon the Merits of the Question, and on the other Side when there was no Ground to suspect any bad Intention on the Part of the Crown.

Upon this Account I cannot but think the Vindicator's natural Sagacity failed him, in mentioning the Transactions of the latter Part of Queen Anne's Reign; with Submission to his better Judgment, he might have let them pass through Respect to his living and departed Friends. Many then reputed Jacobites, and Defacers of the Statue of King *William*, are now the best Whiggs and stoutest Opponents in the Nation. Besides it was suspected and believed that evil Designs against the Settlement of the Crown upon the House of *Hanover*, were then carrying into Execution on the Part of the Crown, the Ministry, and their Adherents, and it was that Consideration which made the Opposition to their Measures meritorious and popular: Now
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he must think the Protestants of *Ireland* entirely changed or out of their Senses, if he expects to gain Merit or Credit from them, by opposing the just Rights of a King, of that House, who exceeds in his Goodness and tender Care for their Prosperity, even what their most sanguine Hopes could frame an Idea of: Beside, the Arts employed to support the Credit of the present Opposition, are directly charg'd (by all true Friends of their King and Country) with a Tendency to advance the same Interest which it was then so meritorious and popular to oppose; whoever they be, whether Whigs, Jacobites, or Papists, that attempt to do this, it is all one to me: Their Names make no Difference, the Reality of the Name of a true Whig is justly revered by every true Protestant, but the best Names have been given to the worst Actions, and no Actions can be worse than some which have been practised to support this Cause; which, we are told, is so popular, that two Millions agree in supporting it: But great Generals are allow'd to hide their Weakness by artfully raising an Opinion of the great Number of their Forces.

Whether what is called the King's hereditary Revenue belongs to his private Purse, or was all granted upon Trust for Publick Service, I shall not attempt to consider, neither shall I examine the Publick Accounts or Method of accounting, in which the Vindicator has shewn his deep Learning, in whatever Light those Matters are taken. Gentlemen do not mean, I suppose, to treat the King as their Task-masters did the *Hebrews* in *Egypt*, to make him supply the Expences of Government without giving him Money for the Purpose; and, if they grant Money to him for that Purpose, they cannot apply it to another Use, until they are informed by him whether it has been applied to publick Service or not, the sending in the Publick Accounts, supposes an antecedent Right to dispose of the Money: But I forbear for fear of perplexing or embarrassing the single Point in View. What the Vindication advances upon Occasion of the Law made in *England* in 1739, to dispose of the King's Prisage, will

deserve a careful Examination, for although the Proceedings there will in no Shape serve to vindicate the Proceedings here, yet they will help to disclose the real Motives of the Opposition. Try it thus: The Commons in *England* fram'd a Bill to dispose of the Prifage, to which the King had an undoubted Right before, to the Captors for the future, without his previous Consent.

(Let us now substitute the Question in Dispute.)

Ergo. They granted away the King's Prifage, then in his Treasury, &c. this Conclusion will by no means follow from the Premisses. Regular Reasoning I mean, fyllogistical by Mood and Figure, is not Parliamentary, but the Vindicator is a good Logician, and knows 'tis the only Method to put a Stop to the infinite Progress of Triflers, Wranglers, and Pamphleteers.

But altho' this Case will not serve the Vindicator's professed Purpose, it will assist to bring what we are contending for into Light.

Either the Commons neglected to take Notice of his Majesty's previous Right by Mistake; or they did it wilfully and angrily, for they were angry at that Time, and a popular Opposition had raised itself to a great Height, upon the common Gloss of preserving publick Liberty: But Time hath since clear'd Men's Eyes and let them see, that it was a Struggle for Places and Power, and no Men were afterwards in less Esteem than those who were then the Idols of the People; the King gave his Royal Assent to the Bill without Difficulty, because He approv'd the Law, and thought it would be for the publick Benefit: And therein shewed his great Moderation and Love of the Publick. We should be much happier than we are if others would condescend to take Example by his Conduct. It cannot be supposed (as the Vindicator justly observes) that the King's Servants and Ministers were ignorant of his Right, or that they wilfully betrayed it (tho' that is not always the Case, for Kings, like private Men, have sometimes perfidious Servants) and every one will agree that no Threats, no Menaces,
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could intimidate the King to relinquish the Rights of his Crown. The Truth is that they are secur'd by the fundamental Laws of the Land, and the Proceedings of one Branch of the Legislature cannot destroy them, tho' they may disturb the Administration and Exercise of them for a Time, the King was too good a King, and lov'd the Advantage of his Kingdom too well to lay hold on a feign'd Pretence for rejecting an useful Law.

Let us now examine how this Matter stands on the Part of the Commons: In 1735, as I think, for I speak from Memory, there was a Bill brought into the House of Commons for the same Purpose, upon Notice of his Majesty's previous Consent to give up his Right in that Case, in 1739 the Bill was brought in without taking Notice of that Right, in 1749 a Bill for the same Purpose was brought in and pass'd upon the previous Notice. Did the Vindicator know these Facts and wilfully smother their Evidence upon presumption of his Reader's Ignorance? He will not say that the Commons in 1735 and 1745, gave up and betrayed the Rights and Privileges of their House, for that would be an Admittance that the Majority may err, and then People are not obliged to believe implicitly that they are always in the Right; and if he does not say so, all his Reasoning upon the Bill of 1739 falls to the Ground, and there will arise a strong Presumption in the Mind of every Man, who will allow himself to think freely, that what was done in 1739 was irregular, wrong, and meant only to shew Power; it was a Hint that those who had Influence to make that Bill pass through the House, must be employed or they would disturb the Administration of Government; they were employed, and then the Bill pass'd regularly in 1745, with the previous Acknowledgement of the King's Right: Perhaps this is what the Vindicator saw and meant to insinuate; *Non quid dixerint sed quo Spectarint, videndum*. Or perhaps he thinks that the Majority can make Black, White, and White, Black, as best shall serve their Purposes, without incurring the Prophet's Curse.

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If we construe the Proceedings of 1739 into an Attempt of the Majority to invade the constitutional Right of the Crown; all Encroachments of one Branch of the Legislature upon the other are dangerous, because the distinct Rights of each Branch have been so critically adjusted and balanc'd, and so very lately settled, recognized, and ascertain'd, that the least additional Weight will turn the Scales. But from the partial Affection of the People to their own Representatives; from the increase of Riches and landed Property by Trade and Industry on their own Part, by Luxury, Gaming, and Extravagance on the Part of the Lords; from the present Circumstances of the Crown by standing in Need of yearly Grants and Aids; from the Genius and Spirit of the People and the Nature of the Constitution; the Opportunity, and Temptation, and Probability of Success to encroach upon the other Branches, are all on the Side of the Commons; and the Consequences of their Encroachments rather more pernicious to the publick Peace and Liberty. It may be thought singular, and I know 'tis unpopular, to advance this Assertion, but Truth must not be given up to popular Opinion, by one who undertakes to shew People their Errors, and wishes to prevent their being misled, by a foolish Conceit of Liberty, inconsistent with Order and good Manners, to throw themselves under the worst Kind of Tyranny, the Tyranny of a many-headed Monster, Anarchy and Confusion.

Our History confirms what I have now advanced: Some Kings in *England* have been wicked and foolish enough to attempt to establish an arbitrary Dominion, but they were ever disappointed with Shame, even when there was large Territories and landed Property in the Crown, with other Circumstances, too many to enumerate, in their Favour, such as can never meet again without an universal Change of Affairs in these Kingdoms.

The Barons too, when the Commons were but their Vassals, attempted to raise themselves into a
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Kind of Aristocratical Power, and struggled long, but were not able to effect it.

The politick, wise, King *Henry* the 7th, in order to emancipate himself from the Controul of his Lords, and, I hope too, with a provident Forecast for the general Advancement and Encrease of his Kingdom, contriv'd a Law to enable the Lords to alienate their Lands in Perpetuity : And likewise, another Law for the Encouragement of Tillage, to give the Husbandman a permanent Tenure of the Lands he occupy'd, that no House, with which Land had been once held, shou'd ever after be wasted : To these Laws Lord *Bacon* imputes the great Encrease of the *English* in Might and Mannerhood ; and hereby, in about five Reigns, the Commons had raised themselves to so great Wealth and Property, that they became an Overmatch for both King and Lords. I shall not enter into a Detail of the Rebellion of 1741 ; 'tis sufficient for my Purpose to remark, that however justifiable the Opposition was in the first Contest, rash, imposing Men soon took the Lead, got the Mastery, misled the People, overturn'd the Constitution in Church and State, plac'd Anarchy, Confusion, and at length the worst of Tyranny, the Tyranny of many, in their Stead ; a Tyranny so bitterly felt by the deluded People who concurr'd to establish it, that it became at length more popular to burn the *Rump* than it had been to burn the *Pope*. Tyranny in any Shape is very grievous ; but the Tyranny of many is intolerable. A single Tyrant may have some Shame, some Bowels, some Reflection, even a Regard to Fame ; but an Assembly of Tyrants have none of all these : The particular good Qualities of each Individual, are absorb'd in the Composition, and they agree only in Evil and Mischief.

The King became truly *Felo de se* the Moment he gave his Consent that they should not be dissolved until they thought fit to dissolve themselves. This was to establish 256 Lawgivers for Life, supposing the Majority to be but six, and 256 Tyrants for ever, if, like the Sons of the Earth, they did not tear and destroy one another. The Decemvirs were appointed to collect

left a Body of Laws for *Rome*; when they found Means to prolong their Power, they immediately set up for Sovereignty, were grievous Tyrants for a Time, and might have established themselves, if they had not quarrelled. There is not any Thing in Nature more dangerous to Civil Liberty and Peace, than a long Continuance of Legislative Power in many, without Change, or at least that a Time be fix'd for their Dissolution, that they may have at least a *Memento* that they are mortal.

The State of *England* was not in those Days so opportune for such restless Spirits to work Mischief, as ours is at present; altho' the *Papists* and *Sectaries* were not the Majority of the Nation, they were yet numerous enough by joining with those of the established Church, who were ready to embrace all Assistances, *Tros Tynusve fuit*, to serve their private Purposes, to make a Division sufficient to overturn the Government: There is this Lesson obvious to be learned from their History, that Quacks and Empiricks are ready to apply violent Remedies in the political Body for private Gain, with the same Ease and Unconcern for the publick Sanity, that Mountebanks offer their Pills; and that ignorant People will be weak enough to be misled by them, altho' it be evident to every Man of Understanding, that in all human Probability, the Effect will be fatal, tho' *Christ* and his Apostles came upon Earth to preach the Advantages of Civil Order and Government to a People deluded into a seditious Spirit, they wou'd not hear them. What do I say? did not such Spirits prevail with a deluded People to desire a Thief and common Murderer, in Preference to the best Man ever liv'd, consider'd barely as a Man.

The great Use of History is to admonish us by the Experience of former Times to avoid the Evils which they felt, and this Part of History is a standing Admonition to all Men of Reflection, who mean well, never to disturb the Minds of the Multitude, in any Case where a constitutional Remedy can be applied; if the constitutional Remedy has been tried in vain, and the Safety of the Whole be in Danger, that is a Case of Necessity,

Necessity, and Necessity is above the ordinary Rules of Law ; the Preservation of the Whole is paramount to the Laws made for the Regimen of Particulars, and in such Case we have the glorious Example of our Fathers in the Revolution of 1688, to direct our Conduct, if ever we should be in those unhappy Circumstances ; but at present we are as secure from any just Apprehension of them on the Part of the Crown, as the Instability of human Affairs can admit.

But where Men in disputable, problematical Questions, in which some may fancy they foresee Danger, and others as experienced, knowing, interested, and honest as they, cannot see any ; where no Step has been taken to ground their Fear upon ; but rather it appears to every moderate, impartial Man, that their Cause of Fear arises from private Disgusts ; in such Cases, to labour to stir up the Multitude into a seditious Mood, must give Offence to every Man of Sense who is a Well-wisher to his King and Country. Can any Good be intended, under his Majesty's gracious and just Government, by endeavouring to raise a Veneration in the Minds of ignorant People for the Memory of those violent Men, who in the Troubles of 1741, by giving a Loose to the indiscreet Fervour of Party-Zeal, tho' perhaps they meant well in the Commencement, most certainly contributed to widen Breaches, which might have been easily made up by moderate Councils, does not this look suspicious ? *Decipit Exemplar virtus imitabile.*

Why is not the wise and just Lord *Falkland's* Memory called upon ? He oppos'd all unjustifiable Measures with more Sense and Ability than any of those memorable Heroes : He had more Knowledge, more Goodness, more Love of his Country, more Fear of God, more Sense of Duty than to assist to enslave himself and his Country to a domineering Faction.

Why is not Mr. *Hyde*, afterwards Lord *Clarendon*, mentioned ? He sacrificed the apparent Advantage of the King he lov'd to the true Interest of his Country, but he wou'd neither sacrifice his King nor his Country to the wicked Designs of a Party. I cou'd mention
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many more who were not nominal, but real Patriots, and wou'd have preserv'd the State, if factious Spirits cou'd have been wrought upon by Reason, or a Sense of Feeling for their Country: These Men were not the Favourites of a deluded Multitude, nor the Idols of Incendiaries; they lov'd the establish'd Church too, and are therefore industriously buried in Oblivion.

The Vindication led me unawares into the mention of *English* Affairs, which do not properly relate to the Question in Dispute: But since we are there, I must beg Leave to make one Observation more upon their Proceedings in the Time, which he very judiciously chose to assist him in vindicating the Proceedings here.

At that Time, a long-form'd, vigorous Opposition, had near run down the King's Minister; their Leaders within Doors were Men of great Abilities and Skill; they were back'd without Doors by the ablest Wits in the Nation, and all discontented, malignant Enemies of the House of *Hanover*; all the Artillery of Eloquence, Rhetoric and Wit, with the forlorn Hope of *Grub-street*, Ribaldry and scurrilous Nonsense, were incessantly play'd off against the King's Administration: The King himself, and all his Family, were represented to the People in all the Colours which Wit cou'd paint, to render them contemptible; and such a disadvantageous Impression was made, as cou'd scarce have been effac'd but by God's Blessing to the Nation in prolonging the King's Life, to be a standing, living Evidence to demonstrate the Falsity and Wickedness of all their Calumny and groundless Suggestions: And the Success of that Opposition has providentially taught People, that all the Clamour of the Danger of publick Liberty, was but a Gloss to mislead them to favour that Side, against their true Interest; for as soon as the Minister resign'd, they got into Employment, and all was well. The People of *England* have learn'd Wisdom by this Accident, and seem to understand that Matter much better than formerly; and 'tis not to be doubted, that if it shall please God to prolong his Majesty's Life, which all good Men wish, others will be instructed to understand their true Interests, and not suffer

suffer themselves to be miserably and idly wrought upon by groundless Suggestions of Men, who are angry because they cannot rule and behave with the impotent Rage of provok'd, disappointed Women.

Quære Peregrinum vicinia rauca reclamationat. Some of the Opponents got Places, but what did the Nation get by their Opposition? They got Experience, but they paid dear for it. They were brought into a War, because it was foreseen the Minister cou'd not support himself and the War together. An Opportunity was open'd for the Enemy to play off the Pretender upon us, and a Rebellion ensued, in which the King was to fight for his Crown, as the Minister had foreseen, and the Nation is loaded with an additional Debt of above 20 Millions; when it was evidently the Business of every true Patriot to endeavour, by all possible Means, to lessen the former Debt, that the Nation might be in a Condition to exert her native Strength, when any Attempts of her Enemies required it; and by lowering of Taxes, might be enabled to carry Trade upon a Foot with her Rivals.

That there may be Occasion given for a just and virtuous Opposition, can admit of no Doubt. When it appears, and there is sufficient Reason to suspect, that the King aims at arbitrary Power to alter the establish'd Laws and Religion, or his Ministers attempt Measures manifestly adverse to the national Good. But a premeditated Opposition antecedent to any such Occasion, or the Suspicion of any evil Intention on the Part of Crown, must appear strange to a Man of plain Understanding; and 'tis unaccountable how it can lay Claim to Merit, or become the Foundation of Popularity, whether 'tis formed by solemn League and Covenant, by drunken League and Covenant, or by Combination of great Families and Friends: I suppose it carries the Air of Courage and Disinterestedness, and that captivates the Crowd; they may be stout, but GOD knows there is not any Thing less disinterested; they are all Ministers, Placemen, and Pensioners in Embryo. I have sometime figured to myself an Assembly of Patriot Opponents at *White's*, or any other Place, with their
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Prime Minister that is to be, in his Chair, distributing Employments on the Night preceding some important Question, scrupulously nice not to prejudice the Merit or Pretensions of any Claimant, and each Claimant as delicate of his Honour not to accept of a Place below him. *Shakespear* has painted this Scene finely, where he makes *Glendower* and *Hotspur* call for the Map of *England*, to adjust their Shares and quarrel about a Foot of Land ; and I have fancied to myself, that I cou'd distinguish the Employment assum'd, by the Part each of them acted next Day.

Such an Opposition must produce the same Confusion in publick Councils, that a Rebellion does in the State : The Opponents, instead of lending their friendly Aid and Advice to adjust or reform the Measures of those entrusted with the Administration, set themselves only to wrangle, disturb, and confound Matters ; they draw off the Attention of those, who wou'd otherwise serve the Publick by contriving useful and good Laws, to the single Point of defending and supporting themselves ; they distract the Minds of ignorant People with idle Fears, destroy mutual Confidence and Credit, and take off that Respect and Fear of Government, which is absolutely necessary to preserve Peace and good Order in the Society. The most insignificant of the Party will set himself above the Laws of the Land ; every profligate Wretch will take Occasion to villify and condemn Religion and Virtue.

Such an Opposition to the Whig Ministry of Queen *Anne*, blasted at once the great Designs laid by King *William* for recovering the civil and religious Liberty of *Europe*, turn'd the Duke of *Marlborough's* Victories into an empty Name, and made *England*, from the highest Pitch of Glory, in a few Days, the Jest of *Europe*. A complete History of Oppositions in King *William's*, King *George* first and second's, wou'd, in my Opinion, be a most useful and instructive Work ; they were obliged to palliate and compromise Matters, for Reasons needless to be mention'd. Queen *Elizabeth* had her Pretenders too ; but as she knew, and did her own Duty, she insisted that others shou'd do theirs likewise :

likewise: The thinking too precisely of the Event, which *Shakespear* says has but one Part, Wisdom, never prevailed with her to reward those, who meant to raise themselves by thwarting and disturbing her righteous Administration.

Altho' these Observations upon the Nature of Opposition under good Kings, do not determine the Question, they will, however, be of Use to illustrate the Nature of the Controversy, and may dispose Men to judge more impartially than they seem hitherto inclined to do.

Let us now examine what the Vindication says of this Affair, directly relative to ourselves: It is certainly true that Facts will not lye, but they may be misrepresented, and if credited, as they are then stated, may be wrested to serve the worst of Purposes. 'Tis scarce to be credited that the Proceedings of the House of Commons for paying off Part of the National Debt in 1749, only reach'd the Castle, by common Report, as the Vindication would have us believe: The Managers in the House, the present Leaders of the Opposition, were then all Courtiers, in entire Confidence of the Lord Lieutenant; he was a Governour to their Wish, standing upon rotten Ground in *England*; he was willing to gratify them in all their Demands preferably to his private Attachments, and they were ambitious to do all possible Honour to his Administration; they had no visible Purpose to serve in concealing their Resolutions from him, neither was such a Practice yet come into Fashion; therefore it cannot be supposed that they wou'd wantonly and idly affront him.

I shall give a short Narrative of that Transaction as I have heard it related and believe truly, tho' I cannot absolutely avouch it.

At the opening of the Session in 1749, when the Managers waited upon the Lord Lieutenant, as usual, to settle the standing Business, they inform'd his Excellency that there was a Redundancy in the Treasury, and that the Application of as much of it as cou'd conveniently be spared toward discharge of the National Debt, wou'd be proper and fit to be done: As his

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Excellency

Excellency knew nothing of the Affair before he left *England*, and had no Instructions about it, he said, nothing cou'd be mov'd in the House about it until he first knew his Majesty's Pleasure ; he did not doubt but the Measure wou'd be agreeable, and he promis'd to write immediately for Instructions : The Matter was deferr'd for some Time in Expectation of the Answer, which was delay'd by contrary Winds so long, that it was apprehended if the Money-Bill was not brought into the House immediately, there wou'd not be sufficient Time remaining for it to go thro' the ordinary Forms, to be returned from *England* before the 25th of *December*, the Day to which the former Taxes were granted and expired ; the Gentlemen waited on his Excellency, let him know their Apprehension of that Inconvenience from any longer Delay, and inform'd him that seeing he was of Opinion that the Application of the Money in that Way wou'd be agreeable to his Majesty, they wou'd provide against the Inconvenience, which his Excellency mentioned, of taking such a Step without his Majesty's previous Commands, by inserting in the Preamble, that it was done agreeable to his Majesty's gracious Intention. All this Proceeding was proper and consistent, and nothing in it look'd as if the Gentlemen thought the Commons in Possession of a Right to controul the King in the Exercise of his just Prerogative to apply the Money granted for publick Service in general, and lying in his Treasury, to the particular Service, which his Majesty thought more immediately call'd for it : The Commons of the Long Parliament did indeed controul the King in the Exercise of this Prerogative ; but it was not until they had to all Intents and Purposes of Government, absolutely unking'd him, and taken the Government into their own Hands. This was consistent Proceeding. Let me not be mistaken to approve it : I say it was consistent in them ; for unless we allow this Right in the Person invested with the executive Power, 'tis impossible to defend or preserve the Nation upon any sudden Exigence against the Attempts of their Enemies, not to mention a Thousand other Inconveniencies, if we suppose the
executive

executive Power under the Controul of another Branch of the Legislative, which meets only occasionally upon stated Times; 'tis sufficient for the Ends of Government, that the Commons have a Right to enquire afterwards how the Money has been applied; to call the Ministers of the Crown to account for the Application of it, and censure or punish if they are justly found guilty of Misapplication or Corruption, and this is a Right I think they have and ought to have constitutionally, and I hear no Body deny it to them. Having thus stated the Fact and the Right, with Submission, the gracious Intention must imply that the King might have applied the Redundancy to the Discharge of the National Debt without any Bill, but as from his Situation in Respect to us, he had not been timorously inform'd of the State of the Case, they had provided a Bill for the Purpose, with that previous Acknowledgment that they did it upon the Presumption on the Information that his Majesty intended to have applied the Money in that Manner, or else it must imply that his Majesty intended that they should prepare the Bill for the Purpose, and that the Money should be applied in that Way by a Bill: It was not then unparliamentary or unconstitutional, to insert in the Preamble of the Bill that it was done agreeable to his Majesty's gracious Intention, that is, with a previous Acknowledgement of his Majesty's Right to apply the Money in his Treasury as has been explained, and the Words will admit of no other Sense, consistent to the subject Matter of them. This, as I remember, was the first Instance of paying unappropriated Publick Money to discharge the Debt, and if so, the Precedent for inserting the previous Acknowledgement of his Majesty's Right, came from those individual Persons who have raised the Opposition at present for inserting it; for as I said before, and it cannot be denied, the Leaders of the present Opposition were then, in 1749, the Courtiers and Managers for the Court, in entire Confidence of the Lord Lieutenant; the Minority in this Question of *December 1753*, were the Country Party in 1749, (I only use the Phrase of the Times and do not mean the least Of-

fence) they gave no Opposition, they were pleased to have the Country eased of the Debt, and acted as became Men who knew their Duty to their King and Country, that their Interest is one and inseparable, and therein acted consistently with their present Conduct.

To the Year 1751 nothing was chang'd but the Lord Lieutenant, and every one thought that Change was for the better, from their former Experience of the Duke of *Dorset*, and from an Opinion of the high Favour he stood in with the King: But some have since chang'd their Opinions as well as their Conduct, and have even gone back to lay a Foundation for their Disgust in his former Administration, I shall just stop to clear that Fact. In his former Administration the Nation wanted a Loan of Money, the Nation's Credit was low, People were unwilling to part with their Money without a certain Security for the Payment of their Principal and Interest; and it was for that Reason propos'd that the Duties to be granted to discharge the Interest and Principal might be continued for twenty Years: It seems they calculated very well, for so long they have continued. This Affair was at that Time misrepresented, as if the Court intended to have all the Taxes and Duties granted for twenty Years, that there might be no Occasion to hold Parliaments for that Space of Time, and it was swallowed by ignorant People, upon the Suggestion of designing Men, as an undoubted Truth, tho' nothing was more false; the Fact is, that no other Duties were mention'd or thought of but those intended for the Discharge of that Loan; whether the Creditors were more nice about their Security than was necessary, or whether the Measure propos'd was right or wrong I shall not consider, I suppose it was right, for the Rt. Hon. *Henry Boyle*, Esq. and many other wise and good Men voted for it. If it was intended for a Jobb, it was a Jobb of our own, as many of the worst Jobbs have been for twenty Years past, the Court had nothing to say to it. This Tale has been reviv'd among many other Falsehoods, maliciously to asperse the Duke of *Dorset*'s former Administration, but it was universally approv'd
of

of by the King and the Country, and in the Interval of his former and present Government, his Grace let no Opportunity slip of manifesting his Love to *Ireland*, one Instance I shall mention, because the Proof of it is upon Record in the Books of the Linen-Board Office. When his Grace returned into *England*, he was again appointed Steward of his Majesty's Household, and immediately gave Directions that the House should be furnished with *Irish* Linen; I believe it was the first Instance of it, and there was a Letter of Thanks sent to his Grace by the Chairman, pursuant to an Order of the Board: His Grace's Answer may be seen in the Office, and it is well worth searching for, to use an homely Phrase, 'tis like Himself, a Picture of good Sense, Humanity and Candour. But I forbear, for since malicious Falsehoods are counted for to be no Libels, by the converse Rule, honourable Truths may be construed into Libels.

Thus his Grace open'd the Session in 1751, and, in his Speech to Parliament, inform'd the Commons that his Majesty recommended and consented that so much Money should be applied to discharge the Publick Debt, as could conveniently be spared out of the Treasury, we must see by this that his Grace knew the State of the Treasury before he left *England*, and had his Majesty's Instructions with him. Since the Commons had by Bill, in 1749, paid off Part of the Debt, with a previous presumptive Acknowledgement that they did so according to his Majesty's gracious Intention, that the Money should be applied that Way; we may justly infer that the Recommendation and Consent related only to the Method of doing it, and that his Majesty graciously choose not to take it out of their Hands, the Right was not in Question nor was there any Doubt about it.

A Bill was prepar'd for the Purpose by his Majesty's Servants, usually employ'd in preparing them, and, as I have heard, and believe to be true, upon good and sufficient Reasons, after they had gone thro' the Bill in the material enacting Part, the Lord Lieutenant's Speech was call'd for, in order to draw the Pre-

amble, which was to be an Echo of the Speech, according to the Usage of the Parliament in like Cases : The Speech was not ready at call, and one of them carried away the Bill, and said he would get the Speech and draw the Preamble, but whether thro' Neglect or wilfully, did not insert the Recommendation and Consent, the Bill was brought into the House without the Words, and pass'd unnotic'd here, but it could not pass unnotic'd in *England*, it came back with the Recommendation and Consent inserted ; there was some Murmur here about it in private Whispers, for private Resentments, for Refusals and Disappointments of Expectations of Employments, began to work ; notwithstanding the Bill pass'd *Nemine Con* in the House. It was not then judg'd an essential Point to reject the Bill for inserting the previous Recommendation and Consent, altho' if I remember right, but it does not affect the Argument if I should be mistaken, there was Matter of Exception in that Bill, of which the subsequent Bill stood clear, I think some Taxes were granted in that Bill, and it is essential to the Freedom of a People, that they have the sole Right to tax themselves.

Will any one, will the Vindicator dare to say, that the House of Commons then, the Majority of which was his own numerical, Glorious Majority, betrayed this essential Right ? He will not dare to say it, and yet he says *tanta mount*, and proves it too, if the Arguments in his Vindication are allowed to be of Force ; but he knows they are not, and that he is understood by the Knowing Ones : They are thrown out, like a Barrel to the Whale, to amuse the Ignorant.

After the Session was over, Animosities were ripened, all Things were prepared for Contention, a Storm was foretold, and we are told that Witches foretel the Storm which they intend to raise. Nothing was done in the mean Time on the Part of the Government that could possibly administer Occasion for Contention, an incendiary Pamphlet came out to charge the accidental Miscarriage of the Linen Bill upon the Court, but that has since been clear'd up to the general Satisfaction,

tion, and if the Mystery of the present Linen Bill was publickly reveal'd, it would open a Scene to open Men's Eyes, to see more clearly how they are, and have been impos'd upon, by those they are now taught to confide in.

The Session opened in 1753, there was now more Money in the Treasury than sufficient to pay off the whole National Debt; the King, agreeable to the Course already taken, recommended and consented to have the Debt discharg'd by a Bill for the Purpose: A Bill was prepar'd and his Majesty's Servants employ'd in drawing, differ'd about inserting the previous Recommendation and Consent in the Preamble; the Bill was sent into *England* without the Words, as it was foreseen, and no less could be expected from what pass'd here, than that the Words would be insert'd there. All Arts and Arguments were us'd to perswade previously that the inserting of those Words would be attended with fatal Consequences; the Bill returned as was expected, but the Words were insert'd in such an harmless Manner, as an innocent Narrative of Fact, that ' his Majesty ever attentive to the Welfare of his ' People had recommended, and would Consent, &c.' that the Spirit of Contention must be very sharp to discover a possibility of Offence in them, for my own Part, I could never satisfy my Judgment precisely to determine which Part of the Sentence principally gave the Offence.

The then ablest of his Majesty's Servants, (the Vindicator needed not to make Comparisons, every Body admires that Gentleman's superiour Abilities, and every good Man is grieved to see them employed to mislead others, which happened more than once last Winter in the Opinion even of many of his Friends) but he allow'd that his Majesty had a Constitutional Right to apply all the Money in the Treasury, granted for publick Service in general, to the particular Service which more immediately call'd for it. And he could have said no less, or he must have un-king'd him, as was well understood when the Commons, in the great

Rebellion, took the Exercise of that Right out of the King's Hands: For God's Sake, does not every Man that has Understanding, and will use it, see that the admitting of that Right in the Crown gave up every Thing material in the Dispute, what remained was only a Dispute about Form: For why was there any Question made about it, but upon the Pretence that the Acknowledgement of such a Prerogative in the Crown might be attended with bad Consequences in the Abuse of it? If the Right be real and constitutional in the King, to object to the exercise of it, or to the acknowledgement of it, for fear of far-fetch'd Ills and Dangers out of Sight, would put a Stop equally to the Administration of any other constitutional Right in the Crown, for none of them but may possibly be abused; and to withhold the Use thro' fear of Abuse is absurd in all Cases, but more especially in this, where the Right had been acknowledged authentically in the two preceding Bills, and yet Things left to be carried on in the same Course, and not the least Occasion offer'd to give room to suspect that any ill Use was intended to be made of it, and if there had, was there not a constitutional Method of Redress without disputing or encroaching upon the just Right of the Crown. It has been said, that to insert a previous Recommendation or Consent was unparliamentary; not to mention how could it be more so now than in the two preceding Sessions, and a thousand Instances of the same Sort in Bills of a different Matter: Parliamentary is a loose, vague Word, but in respect to the House of Commons, it must relate to the usual Form and Method only of carrying on Business in their House, which can never be supposed to be regular if it interferes with and thwarts the constitutional Rights of another Branch of the Legislature.

It has likewise been said on this Occasion, that good Reigns are the proper Times for making Examples: A Compliment which has often been paid to a good King, when the worst Designs were hatching against him; good Reigns are certainly the proper Times for framing Laws for future Advancement of the Nation,

or

or to prevent future Evils, but to take Occasion from thence to obstruct a good Prince in the just Exercise of his Right, is in other Words to say, that a good Prince must not be suffer'd to do Good, lest a bad one should learn from his Example to do Evil: An Absurdity too great to be cramm'd down the Throat of a News Boy.

Here I leave the Point of Right: But it has been said by many that the Right was only disputed for a Gloſs, when the real intention was only to display the Power of a Party; if that was really the Case, it must be confess'd, that the Rejection of the Bill, even by such a small Majority, was a Demonstration of great Power: To be able to reject a just, equitable Measure, upon such a frivolous Pretence, certainly argues great Strength of Party, although there be no Merit in it; and to be able to persuade People to believe that they serv'd the Publick in doing this, bespeaks great Skill and Knowledge in managing the People, tho' it is but a bad Compliment to the People's Understanding, or their own Wisdom; but what is the natural Consequence! why this may be expected, that no wise King will think it safe to employ Men that could make so bad a Use of their Influence, nor will People in their Senses ever think that a good Reason for entrusting them with the same Power: *Tacitus* observ'd long ago, *Quod nihil rerum mortalium tam instabile & fluxum est; quam fama Potentiæ non sua vi Nixæ*; and there can not be a more uncertain, shifting Foundation, to raise the Opinion of Power upon, than vulgar Error and Delusion: *Cromwell* thoroughly understood it, when *Ireton*, elated with the Acclamations and Huzzas of the Mobb, in the Gaiety of his Heart cry'd out, ' You ' see wee have the Hearts of the People; ' ' Poh,' says *Cromwell*, ' they would shout ten Times louder ' if they follow'd us To morrow to the Gallows.'

It has been loudly cry'd out against, that some have been remov'd from their Employments, for voting to reject this Bill: Their Loss is consider'd as a Restraint upon the Freedom of Parliament. And may it not be an unreasonable Restraint upon the King not to allow him

him the Liberty of chusing to continue or discharge his Servants, according as he finds their Behaviour agreeable or disagreeable to him, I don't find that he discharg'd them without timely Notice. But, Why should that Reason be assign'd for the King's discharging them from his Service? May not other substantial Reasons be assigned? I do not say they took Place here, but there have been Servants of the Crown, who have avail'd themselves of the gentle and just Administration of their Master, to raise to themselves a popular Name, and when they have establish'd that Point, in their own Opinion, acted like Spies upon their Master, endeavour'd to draw all the Praise, justly due to his Goodness, to themselves, by falsely insinuating that they were the Promoters of every good Measure, and had prevented many dirty Jobbs, when in Reality they were the sole Movers of all bad Measures and Jobbs: Lord *Bacon* observ'd in his Time, that some Servants of the Crown were factious Commanders, and recommended none to Office but Men devoted to themselves, and were offended if the Recommendation was not always complied with, as if they meant to besiege the King.

Every Man that will use his Eyes may see, that an Opposition set up to the Measures of Government by the Servants of the Crown, is consider'd as a Witness in Court giving Testimony against the Man who produces him, he discredits the Cause for which he was produced, tho' his Testimony would otherwise have been disregarded; I could give a famous modern Instance of this, but the Times are too piqued to hear it, and many of our modern Patriots Merits depend entirely upon this Cause.

Themistocles acquainted the *Athenian* Senate, that he had a very beneficial Scheme to propose, but the Success of it depended upon Secrecy: He was ordered to impart his Scheme to *Aristides*, *Aristides* reported it might be useful but it was not honest; the Senate rejected it without hearing, because nothing could be of publick Utility that was not honest. And *Cicero*, I think, somewhere curses the Man who first made a
difference

difference between Honesty and Utility. ‘Curfed be
 ‘the Man, his Memory at leaft, who firft fet up a fe-
 ‘parate Interelt between the Prince and People;’ and
 may they not prosper in their Defigns, who mean to
 build their own Greatnefs on dividing his People from
 a King, who never propofed to himfelf an Interelt fe-
 parate from his People’s Welfare. Duke Sully, Prime
 Minifter to Henry the Fourth of France, who ftrove to
 raife his Kingdom to Wealth and Glory, but was
 greatly obftruded by fuch kind of Men, obferves with
 a Sigh: *Il faut s’attendre a tout de la part des Hommes, ils*
ne tiennent, pour la pluspart, a leur Devoirs, a la Societé,
a la Pureté, que par leur Eſperances & leur Succes, non par
les bienfaites, la bonne foi, ou la Vertue: Let the Vindica-
 tor tranſlate it.

It has been obſerved, and felt for ſeveral Years paſt,
 that the Sideſmen and Creatures of a Party, have on
 all Occaſions affected to ſpeak as if the ſovereign Le-
 giſlative Power was actually veſted in the Party: Their
 private Reſolutions were to be rever’d, as the Laws of
 the *Medes and Perſians*; they were infallible and could
 not err, and whoever found fault and ſpoke of wrong
 proceeding, he was branded for a Jacobite; they
 who differ’d from them, were run down with Con-
 tempt; tho’, by the bye, they were Men of as good
 Senſe and large Property as any in the Nation: But
Tacitus obſerves, *Moderatio & Equitas Superioris ſunt No-*
mina, ita qui olim boni & equi Cheruſci, nunc inertes &
Stulti vocantur: Cattis fortuna in ſapientiam Ceſſit. The
 Man, who without Doubt had the Voice of his Coun-
 try, could not hold his Place unleſs he ſwore Allegi-
 ance to the Party previous to his Prince: Whatever
 was propoſ’d to be done by any one obnoxious to the
 Party, was ſurely rejected, tho’ ever ſo uſeful and be-
 neficial to the Publick, and that Reaſon aſſign’d. It
 was deſign’d to have a Clause inſerted in a publick Bill
 for granting a Spot of Ground to the Truſtees of the
 Charity bequeath’d by the Dean of *St. Patrick’s*, to
 build an Hoſpital upon, that the Expence of a private
 Bill might be ſav’d to the Charity; it was refuſed for
 no conceiveable Reaſon, but that the propoſer was an
 Eye-

Eye-fore to the Party; although he is and ever was, the most respectable, upright, knowing, publick-spirited Personage in the Nation: At the same Time another, whose History in a judicial Capacity, would furnish more atrocious Barbarities than any Robbers in Story, past unnotic'd, uncensur'd, to the Reproach and Scandal of all Civil Society, for Reasons well known, and needless to mention.

A Tillage Bill, upon the Plan of *Henry* the Seventh's famous Tillage Law, to which *England* is indebted for her Plenty of Bread and substantial Inhabitants, and thro' want of which we pine in want of Bread and People, was rejected, and the Gentleman who designed it laughed at for his Pains, by a now renowned Patriot; for this Year has wrought stranger Metamorphoses than *Ovid* had Wit to describe. *Piget hæc opprobria dici potuisse, & non potuisse refelli.* I could mention many more, but reserve them for some Memoirs of our Publick Affairs for twenty Years past, which I intend to publish. We have been in a Situation the very Reverse of what *Montesquieu* describ'd our State to be; but he drew his Observation from Notion and not from Fact, the whole Nation enjoy'd Freedom of Constitution, but one Half of the Individuals liv'd under the Oppression of the other: I mention these Things to vindicate the Sufferers from the imputation of Stupidity or Blindness; they felt but bore their Grievance with Patience so long as their Persecutors, by their Connexion with Government, had a Colour to charge an Opposition to their Measures with Disaffection; beside, in the Nature of Things, it was to be expected that violent Men would break all Bounds and break themselves at long run; and wise Men will bear many Inconveniencies rather than raise Disturbance in a Nation circumstanc'd as this is. The Time is arriv'd, tho' some have their Senses blunted too much to feel it yet: Lord *Bolingbroke* most justly observes, that after the Scales of Power have turn'd in Political Contests, those in the sinking Scale do not perceive the Alteration for some Time, but retain their Air of Superiority,

riority until their Scale strikes the Ground and throws them into the Dirt, be that as hereafter may be.

At present it cannot be denied by any well-meaning, sober Man, that the indiscreet Fervour of party Zeal has broke out into unwarrantable Outrages against the King and his Government, the Constitution and the establish'd Church: His Majesty's gentle Reproof of the most unprecedented Attack ever made upon Government in Time of Peace and Order, is turned into indecent Ridicule by the Author of the *Drumcondra* Farce;—' We have a gracious King,' says he, ' that will not suffer his Servants to be affronted without writing Letters at least in their Favour; no Doubt to deprecate the Vengeance of his Superiors.' The *French* Letter, published by the acknowledg'd Printer of the Party, tells us, ' Affairs are come to that Pass, that without a miraculous Interposition, we must have a Civil War, or a despotick Government,' and this Paper is dispersed over the Nation under priviledg'd Covers, the Alternative is very bad; he may possibly know what secret Designs are intended to effect one of the Alternatives proposed: 'Tis a Sentence might become a Manifesto of the Pretender's, and I have sometime thought on reading many such Papers, they were written by some Jesuits sent at this Time among us, to serve some such Purpose. But I challenge any Man to name any one Fact, during his Majesty's mild and gracious Reign, that can be tortur'd into a Suspicion of an Attempt to set up a despotick Government on the Part of the Crown. I could point out several Outrages of the same Stamp against the King and his Vicegerent, such as no other Government in the World would suffer to pass with Impunity: And when the Government thought fit to take Notice of them, 'tis of publick Notoriety, what Endeavours were used to obstruct Prosecution, under the specious Name of the Liberty of the Press, *Ut Imperium Evertant Libertatem præferunt, postquam perverterint Libertatem ipsum aggrediuntur*; never was Observation more fully verified. Surely no Man in his Senses will contend for a Liberty of the Press inconsistent with, and calculated

to abolish, all Respect in the Subject to their King and his lawful Authority ; to blacken his Majesty's principal Servants in Church and State, with the Imputation of Crimes not to be nam'd, without even the shadowy Semblance of a Loop to hang the Colour of a Suspicion upon, if there was, it cannot be doubted that Malice was wanting to strain it into Proof ; the obvious Tendency of such villainous Slanders is to teach the lower People to think lightly of those Crimes, to corrupt their Minds and season them for any Wickedness their Leaders may think necessary to employ them in. The freest States, heretofore, found it necessary to restrain the Petulance even of Wit, when it descended into an offensive Licentiousness, and that Restraint, the Critick remarks, corrected their Taste, and gave Rise to pure Writings. But squint-eyed Faction can see no Object in the just Proportion, and while it contends for unbounded Licentiousness on the Side of the Party, would violently extort absolute passive Obedience on the other Side, so that 'tis evident they contend for a Liberty to themselves to enslave all others.

The Constitution too has not been spared in these Disputes : Our Constitution, bad as 'tis, has been one of the softest Epithets for it, one Part of it has gotten the Rickets, in short, 'tis all unsound, except one Branch, which has Appetite to swallow the Nourishment of the Whole. If the several Parts were content to keep within their Limits, if one Part of the Constituted did not incessantly endeavour to detract from, and encroach upon, the other Parts, to engross the Powers of the Whole ; the Constitution is well contriv'd, and adapted with great Skill and Sagacity to our Circumstances : To preserve Harmony and good Will, and to prevent Contention with the greater Nation, upon whose Support the Protestants of *Ireland* absolutely depend for the Security of their Lives and Preservation of their Property : I hope that can be no Reason for a Protestant to find fault with it, or wish it to be altered.

The establish'd Church too is very little oblig'd to the Partizans in these Disputes : She deserv'd some Distinction

distinction for the Property and Honours held by her Title at least. The People are taught to make no difference between the establish'd Church and the Church of *Rome*; the Terms Priest and Priest-craft are continually thrown out to confirm them in that Error: But surely there is a very wide Difference, and the Gentlemen who talk in that Manner do not think as they speak; if they do, then the Protestants of *Ireland* are in a much worse Condition, and have more to fear than is commonly apprehended: I speak of the Church merely upon Civil Respects; the establish'd Church allows no one Power to her Ministers, of what Order soever, inconsistent with true Civil Liberty; a Minister of the establish'd Church may be as affectionate and zealous a Friend to Civil Liberty as any other Man in the Nation of what Station soever he be: There is no Doctrine, no Engagement by his Profession, no Dependence to restrain him, or to bias him otherwise. He is in those Respects as free, as little dangerous to Civil Liberty as any other Man, and stands upon the same footing: If he does not, the Fault is in the Man, and not in his Office and Ministry. But he is certainly obliged by his Office and the Doctrine of the Church, to teach Obedience to the King and all in Authority under him, for Conscience Sake and the fear of God; and the Behaviour of these Gentlemen gives some Cause to suspect that is the Tye which disqualifies him and offends them, they would render the Ministers of the establish'd Church disrespected and odious, that the People might not listen to that Doctrine, because they want to make the Government disrespected and odious. 'Tis within the Memory of Man that the Primate was Confessor to the Patriarch of Patriots, they differ'd about a Point in which the whole Nation thought the Patriarch was wrong: The Primate is now condemned to the Death of *Laud* for his likeness to *Wolsey*, and he is as like *Wolsey* as the establish'd Church is to the Church of *Rome*, except that *Wolsey* is represented to be faithful to his King: Is it for that one unpardonable Likeness that he is adjudg'd to the Fate of Archbishop *Laud*, who certainly

fell

fell an innocent Victim to party Rage, for his Loyalty to his Prince, and for attempting to revive Discipline and good Manners at an unseasonable Time, when it served the Purposes of a violent Faction that the People should be vicious; it was then too a Recommendation to be drunken and debauch'd.

But why so critical to confine the Punishment of irregular Ambition to ambitious Priests? Is it that ambitious Lords and Commons may have an open Field to run the full Career of their Ambition with Impunity? Why was not the Fate of *Effex* and *Blunt* assign'd by these Patriots to all ambitious Lords and Commoners? They were justly punish'd for attempting to raise Sedition and Rebellion against one of the best Princes that has been in Story: Lord *Effex* had been her great Favourite, she heap'd Honours upon him, and he enjoyed great Power under her indulgent Eye; he was popular too; for the Servants of good Princes may be popular, tho' they have not always the Virtue to impute their Popularity to the true Cause, but apply it to awe and controul their Prince, if their unsatiable Ambition be not gratified, in prejudice of all his other good Subjects. This was Lord *Effex*'s Case, he was one of Lord *Bacon*'s factious Commanders, and wanted to besiege the Queen, by bringing none into Place but Creatures entirely at his Devotion, and because he could not engross and suck up all her Favours for his Dependents, he quarrelled and aspersed all her other faithful Ministers and Servants; he held her in Hand that her Business could not otherwise be done, his Adherents were distinguish'd by Name—the Queen's Friends—: For his sole Aim was, to be sure, for her Service; and if she had had but the Wisdom to submit to be rul'd and govern'd by him, he never would have thought of stirring up her People into Rebellion: But as she was not wise enough to submit to that, he forgot all her former Favours and Honours, forfeited his Loyalty, despised his Oaths of Allegiance and Office, leagu'd even with the Popish Rebels here, gather'd Malecontents and Discontents for disappointed Expectations, and Expectants of future Advancement upon
his

his Success, for many could not believe the Queen would disgrace him, and for that Reason those in her Service upon his Recommendation, mostly stood for him, he had too bound them to himself, previous to his Recommendation of them, in short he profess'd that he meant only to remove ambitious Priests from her Councils; and perhaps at first setting out he did not intend to carry Matters to Extremities, and only meant to shew the Queen his great Interest in the Affections of her People, which he fondly hop'd would make the Queen submit to gratify his Ambition: (tho' what he judg'd would best serve his Purpose, was in Reality the strongest Argument for the Queen never to trust him) But *Blunt* confess'd that if they could not obtain all their Demands from the Queen,—and they treated like Sovereign Princes with their Equal, not like Servants with their Master—they would not have stopped to embrue their Hands in her Blood. O cursed Ambition!

Now in my humble Opinion, and I submit it to the Judgment of all his Majesty's faithful Subjects, this is a proper and more instructive Piece of History to be reviv'd under a King, the most like to Queen *Elizabeth* of any has reign'd since or had before, than Allusions to suspicious Characters of rebellious Times, when Faction prevail'd, to murder the King and overthrow the Constitution in Church and State. But Men have drank themselves into Madness, and Madness must create Confusion.



